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1962/10/26

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Action

Control: 19012 Rec'd: OCTOBER 27, 1962

12:56 A.M.

ARA

Info

FROM: RIO DE JANEIRO

T0: Secretary of State

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898, OCTOBER 26, 10 FM (SECTION 1 OF 11)

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EMBASSY TELEGRAM 895.

FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL TRANSMATION (NNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED) OF LETTER ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY BY PRESIDENT GOULART UNDER DATE OCTOBER 26:

(BEGIN TEXT)

MR. PRESIDENT:

I RECEIVED WITH APPRECIATION AND CONSIDERED WITH ATTENTION LETTER IN WHICH YOUR EXCELLENCY FOUND IT APPROPRIATE TO INFORM ME THAT THERE HAD BEEN EVIDENCE OF PRESENCE ON CUBAN TERRITORY OF OFFENSIVE WEAPONS CAPABLE OF CONSTITUTING A THREAT TO COUNTRIES OF THIS HEMISPHERE, IN THIS LETTER YOUR EXCELLENCY ALSO REQUESTED SUPPORT OF BRAZIL FOR MEASURES WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT WOULD PROPOSE TO DAS COUNCIL AND TO SECURITY COUNCIL OF UN, BASED UPON PROVISIONS OF TREATY OF RIO DE JANEIRO AND OF SAN FRANCISCO CHARTER.

YOU ARE ALREADY AWARE OF STATEMENT MADE BY BRAZILIAN DELEGATE IN FIRST OF THESE BODIES. I WISH HOWEVER TO AVAIL MYSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT TO YOUR EXCELLENCY, WITH FRANKNESS AND SINCERITY CALLED FOR NOT ONLY AS A DUTY BUT AS AN OBLIGATION BECAUSE OF MY PERSONAL REGARD FOR YOUR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/MB

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-2- 898, OCTOBER 26, 10 PM (SECTION I OF II), FROM RIO DE JANEIRO

EXCELLENCY AND TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES, SOME CONSIDERATIONS WITH REGARD TO BRAZILIAN POSITION ON CASE OF CUBA, AS WELL AS WITH REGARD TO DIRECTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN RECENTLY PREVAILING IN DECISIONS OF OAS.

YOUR EXCELLENCY KNOWS UNSHAKEABLE LOYALTY OF BRAZIL TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF THIS LOYALTY OUR COUNTRIES HAVE ALREADY FOUGHT SIDE BY SIDE IN TWO WORLD WARS, WHICH COST US SACRIFICE OF INNUMERABLE LIVES AND IMPOSED UPON US, PROPORTIONATELY AND IN A DIFFERENT MANNER, HEAVY MATERIAL LOSSES.

DEMOCRATIC SENTIMENTS OF BRAZILIAN PEOPLE AND OF ITS GOVERNMENT ARE TODAY, ONE MIGHT SAY, GREATER AND MORE DEEPLY ROOTED THAN IN PAST, BECAUSE WITH PASSAGE OF YEARS AND ACCELERATION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OUR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED AND HAVE STABILIZED THEMSELVES, UNDER PRINCIPLE OF SUPREMACY OF LAW.

IT WAS NATURAL THAT IN PARALLEL WITH STRENGTHENING OF DEMOCRACY, A SENSE OF INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD DEVELOP, LEADING US TO FARTICIPATE IN EVENTS AND PROBLEMS NOT ONLY OF A REGIONAL BUT ALSO OF A GLOBAL CHARACTER, SO THAT WE FACE THESE IN LIGHT OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS AND IN ACCORD WITH DICTATES OF OUR PUBLIC OPINION.

IN SPEECH WHICH I HAD HONOR TO DELIVER BEFORE AMERICAN CONGRESS ON APRIL 4, 1962 I TRIED TO SUM UP AND ENUNCIATE CLEARLY THE DOMINANT ASPECTS OF OUR POSITION IN FOLLOWING TERMS:

"INTERNATIONAL ACTION OF BRAZIL HAS NO OTHER OBJECTIVE BUT THAT OF FAVORING PRESERVATION AND STRENGTHENING OF PEACE BY ALL MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL. WE BELIEVE THAT IDEOLOGICAL

CONFLICT

CONTINUENTAM

CONTRACTOR OF

-3- 898, OCTOBER 26, 10 PM (SECTION | OF ||), FROM RIO DE JANEIRO

CONFLICT BETWEEN WEST AND EAST CANNOT AND MUST NOT BE RESOLVED MILITARILY BECAUSE, EVEN IF WE WERE TO SAVE OUR LIVES DURING A NUCLEAR WAR, WHETHER VICTORIOUS OR DEFEATED WE WOULD BE UNABLE TO SAVE OUR REASON FOR LIVING. AN END TO PERILOUS ARMS RACE MUST BE FOUND THROUGH COEXISTENCE AND NEGOTIATION. BRAZIL BELIEVES COEXISTENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRATIC WORLD AND SOCIALIST WORLD MAY BE BENEFICIAL THROUGH UNDERSTANDING AND INTEGRATION OF COMMON EXPERIENCES. WE HOPE THESE CONTACTS WILL SHOW THAT REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY IS MOST PERFECT OF TYPES OF GOVERNMENT AND MOST COMPATIBLE WITH PROTECTION OF MAN AND PRESERVATION OF HIS FREEDOM".

DEFENSE OF PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES, IN ITS BROADEST SENSE, HAS BECOME A CRUCIAL POINT OF FOREIGN POLICY OF BRAZIL, NOT ONLY FOR REASONS OF A JURIDICAL NATURE, BUT BECAUSE IN IT WE SEE INDISPENSABLE REQUISITE FOR PRESERVATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND OF APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH EVOLUTION OF EACH FEOPLE MAY TAKE PLACE.

IT IS THEREFORE UNDERSTANDABLE THAT ANY FORM OF INTERVENTION IN AN AMERICAN STATE INSPIRED BY ALLEGED INCOMPATIBILITY OF ITS POLITICAL REGIME IS DEEPLY DISPLEASING TO CONSCIENCE OF BRAZILIAN PEOPLE WHEN THIS IS FOR PURPOSE OF IMPOSING UPON THAT NATION A REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM BY MEANS OF EXTERNAL COERCION WHICH REMOVES ITS DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER AND VALIDITY. FOR THIS REASON BRAZIL AT EIGHTH MEETING OF AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS OPPOSED IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS AGAINST CUBAN REGIME, ALL MORE SO BECAUSE AT THAT TIME, UNLIKE WHAT HAS JUST HAPPENED, NO CONCRETE FACTS WERE POINTED OUT WHICH MIGHT ENABLE ONE TO FORECAST POSSIBILITY OF AN ARMED ATTACK.

GORDON.

SJR/DLW

Note: Advance copy to SS-O Passed White House per SS-O

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N^{o} 823 Rezident of the USSR KGB of the Council of Ministers $26.X.62\,$

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[Source: Volkogonov Collection, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Reel 17, Container 26, Translated by Gary Goldberg for the Cold War International History Project and the National Security Archive]